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AUTHOR Greenfeld, Sue
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ABSTRACT

Advanced graduate students enrolled in a management course conducted thirty-four structured interviews at a major multi-million-dollar Houston-based oil company. Approximately fifty open-ended questions were asked the respondents over topics related to sex roles in the organization, including employee interactions, secretarial roles, work-related travel, work-related social encounters, family-work relations, and personal goals. Results of the interviews showed a concerted effort to bring women into higher levels of the organization within the past two years, but women and men interviewed were still essentially at different levels within the organization. Most respondents felt that there were numerous similarities between male and female capabilities, but differences were noted in the areas of opportunities for advancement, preference for the sex of the supervisor, salary expectations, favoritism toward advancement, and social lunching among others. (Author/BM)

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SEX ROLES INSIDE THE CORPORATION

Sue Greenfeld
Texas A&M University

A summary of
findings from Mgmt. 689
"Special Topics in Careers &
Sex Roles in the Organization
Under the direction
of
Dr. Sue Greenfeld
with
Lola Boyce
Pattie Chapman
Josey Duke
Denise Smart

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ABSTRACT

Advanced graduate students enrolled in a management course conducted 34 structured interviews at a major multi-million dollar Houston based oil company. Approximately fifty open-ended questions were asked the respondents over topics related to sex roles in the organization: employee interactions; secretarial roles; work-related travel; work-related social encounters; family-work relations; and personal goals.

Results show a concerted effort to bring women into higher levels of the organization within the past two years, but women and men interviewed were still essentially at different levels within the organization. Most respondents felt that there were numerous similarities between male and female's capabilities, but differences were noted in the areas of opportunities for advancement, preference for the sex of the supervisor, salary expectations, favoritism toward advancement, social lunching among others.

INTRODUCTION

Large multi-national corporations have a profound effect on the economic lives of women in America today, either through direct employment of self, family members or indirectly, as the users of services and goods provided by corporations. Women in the work force are faced with opportunities and obstacles encumbered by corporate structures such as low mobility situations; power struggles; opportunities ladders; peer subordinate and supervisory relationships, etc.

Women studies' courses seem to approach these complex issues at a variety of ways. At one level is the macro-economic position emphasizing labor market participation rates, career vs. home lifestyle patterns, marital statuses, and other sociological based factors. These courses usually appear as "Sociology of Women at Work," "History of Working Women," "Women in the Labor Force," At a micro-interpersonal level, psychology courses (Psychology of Women) usually emphasize women's individual motivation for working outside the home. Most Business school courses deal with women getting ahead and take on a stance that women's managerial and assertiveness skills need to be developed. Here, the posture tends to be "Women Into Management."

While each of these courses fulfills a particular interest and need, few courses at any level are taken outside of the classroom setting for analysis. This paper highlights an approach which does take the study of sex roles outside the University confines and uses a field research effort as a pedagogical tool. Reported here are the findings of 34 structured interviews conducted by advanced graduate students at Texas A&M University in the Fall of 1978 who took Mgmt. 689 "Special Topics in Careers and Sex Roles in the Organization."

OVERVIEW OF COURSE

The class met once a week on Tuesday evenings for three hours. The usual format included 1) a sharing period of week's events (e.g., items read in the newspaper on women); 2) a discussion of the week's reading assignment and 3) a discussion around field research project.

Among topics covered from the readings were sex structuring in organizations, corporate wives, secretaries, women in management, leadership, achievement, self-reliance, meaning of success and power, promotion and mobility. The three books read for the course were Douglas T. Hall Career in Organizations, Rosabeth Kanter Men and Women of the Corporation, and Laurie Larwood and Marion M. Wood Women in Management.

The research project was carried out in four stages over the semester: 1) formulation of a questionnaire by the entire class; 2) conducting structured interviews in the field using questionnaire as a guide; 3) presentation of material orally in class and written to the instructor and 4) written report to organization after the end of the semester.

METHODOLOGY

Two multi-national Houston-based oil companies were approached for participation in this field project. One company declined on the grounds of legal "worries" while the second oil company did agree to participate. The Corporate Director of Employee Relations asked selected personnel to

participate on a voluntary basis and there was no control in the selection except that men and women of comparable levels should be chosen. This did not turn out to be the case. The interviewees represented such functions as employee relations, compensations benefits, management education, accounting, personnel, product supply, purchasing, maintenance, welding and operations.

A total of 15 females and 19 males were interviewed for approximately one hour each by one of six female interviewers. The interviews took place in varying locations. Some interviews were conducted in the respondent's office while others were conducted in a central location. Approximately fifty open-ended questions were asked of the respondents over the following subjects: employee interactions; secretarial roles; work-related travel; work-related social encounters; family/work relations, and personal goals.

For the analysis, respondents answers were aggregated into an either/or situation (i.e., a respondent was either over 40 or under, either married or unmarried, felt males were favored or did not, etc.). Sample chi-square and t-test provided the main statistical support via the SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Science) program at Texas A&M University.

Subjects

As shown in Table I, there were no female directors interviewed for this study and only one female held a traditionally male job. There were four times as many male managers and male blue collar workers interviewed

as there were females interviewed for those categories. More females were represented as supervisors than were males. Professional positions were equally represented by both male and female.

Respondents' career time table and number of people supervised shows directors, supervisors and blue collar workers with the organization the longest. Blue collar workers experience the most job stability with more than ten years in their current positions while directors supervise the most people. (Table II).

Respondents ages ranged from 23 to 60 years with a mean age of 40 years. The age for women was 37.73 while men's was 41.47. Although the women were just as likely to have been with the organization the same number of months, they reported less previous experience doing this specific type of work as did the men. Males were also more likely to be working in nonclerical male-dominated jobs while more women were reported in clerical positions (Table III).

TABLE I

Classification of People Interviewed

	Male	Female
Directors	4	0
Managers	4	1
Supervisors	3	4
Professionals	4	4
Blue Collar Workers	4	1
Traditional Female Roles	0	5
Total	19	15

TABLE II

Respondents' Career Time Table
and Number of People Supervised by Organizational Level

Respondent Classification	Average Years Occupied Current Position	Average Years With Organization	Average Years Previous Experience	Average No. Employees In your Department	Average Number of People Supervise
Managers	1.4	5.7	6.7	20.2	3.8
Directors	2.4	13.1	22.3	16.0	7.5
Supervisors	3.4	15.0	3.4	18.4	4.6
Professionals	1.6	7.1	2.8	17.5	0.4
Blue Collar	10.7	16.8	13.4	12.6	0
Traditional Female Roles	2.8	2.6	3.0	11.4	0

TABLE III

Respondents' Organizational Variables
and Number of People Supervised by Sex

	Men (n = 19)	Women (n = 15)	Significance level
Mean months in			
Current position	51.31 (63.48)	29.00 (11.85)	N.S.
Organization	126.21 (99.29)	106.93 (103.97)	N.S.
Previous experience doing this kind of job	130.11 (125.10)	36.40 (30.97)	P = .005
Number of Non-Clerical People in dept.			
Men	9.79 (8.71)	4.21 (5.30)	P < .05
Women	2.26 (3.16)	2.07 (1.07)	N.S.
Number of Clerical People in Dept.			
Men	.42 (.96)	.36 (.63)	N.S.
Women	7.38 (9.90)	5.71 (7.05)	N.S.
Number of people Supervised	4.31 (8.45)	1.87 (3.14)	N.S.
Age	41.47 (9.95)	37.73 (11.50)	N.S.

Standard deviation in parentheses

RESULTS

Assignments and Job Expectations

The respondents were asked if they felt that job assignments differed between sexes having the same job title.

Male blue collar workers felt the question was not applicable to them as "women were generally given different assignments" -- more on the level of support e.g., fire watcher, as opposed to a position where they would function as a peer. However, one male said, "If a qualified woman would apply, they would hire her immediately. I know, all of us in the shop would vote for her. But there just aren't any women like that."

Men, on the whole, agreed there was no differences in job assignments given to men and those given to women. Women, on the other hand, had mixed feelings. One woman holding a traditionally female job felt all job assignments were "very equal" regardless of the sex of the holder. Whereas, a female manager related the details of having asked for a position previously held by a man and being told it "needed a male" even though the job carried the same title as the one she currently had. A female professional felt it was "generally accepted that women were more adaptable to more detail and routine tasks and assignments." One woman holding a traditional role expressed her feelings that there definitely was a difference in job assignments in some cases. She thought "females remained in stable work areas, while men may be able to expand themselves." A female supervisor sharing the opinion expressed by many males, said she felt there was "no differences in job assignments in positions of the same title." Nineteen of the 34 people saw no differences.

Importance of Assigned Tasks

Another question asked if the respondents felt their assigned tasks were of equal importance as those of their opposite sex peers. Nineteen male and female respondents felt assigned tasks were of equal importance. Again, a large number of men (33%) did not feel the question was applicable to them because they had no female peers. Three male directors said assigned tasks would be of equal importance depending on the situation and level of title.

One male blue collar worker thought he was given tasks of more importance than anyone regardless of sex; he felt he did more work than most. A male manager without giving an explanation, said "more important tasks are assigned to males." The one female who gave a negative response was a secretary. She said, "My position is not as high as others; thus I am not given critical tasks." A female non-professional felt her tasks were of equal importance to those of her male peers, but added, "They watch me very closely."

Professional Expectations

Seventeen males and females felt no more or no less was expected of them professionally due to their sex. A male director and a female professional both felt more was expected of a woman, but gave no explanation as to why. A female manager thought "Women must really shine, but many men expect the same of both males and females." Two male managers and one male director all agreed that generally speaking, "The business world is maturing. There are just a lot more females working. Those (discriminatory) days are behing us." However, one manager added, he felt it was "easier for a male ... to have credibility." The director also felt, "Initially, a woman might be expected to do more, but a woman who is good -- she knocks down his (boss') barriers. Sex is a most obvious difference." Finally, one female supervisor concluded that

"Many women make more demands on themselves, even though the company sees them as equals."

Handling Pressure Situations Compared to Opposite Sex Peers

Four men and seven women indicated that they felt pressure situations were handled equally well by women and men. A female in a traditional job stated, "about the same...(although she would have a) female reaction...they'd have a male reaction." There was an even division of men and women among the six respondents who felt that men handled pressure situations better. Two men felt they were "less emotional." A third stated that "women have not had the background," and women felt less comfortable even though "we bent over backwards for them." A woman in a traditional job said, "men take more professional viewpoints...(they) handle well on the outside expressions and thus get it off (their) chest." A female professional felt she did not handle pressure as well as a male because whe was "bogged down with details males don't have to worry about...males can tell someone else to do it."

Two respondents felt women handled pressure better than men. A male professional felt males handled pressure less well but did not elaborate. A female in a traditional job spoke of two types of pressure: 1) meeting important people and 2) actual typing. She felt women handled those pressures better because "others are grouchy."

A male supervisor felt that he really didn't know and really could not generalize but he had always said, "a good efficient woman can do two men's jobs...but first, you have to find her."

Expressing Anger in the Work Environment

When asked how men and women should express anger in the work environment, generally the respondents felt that anger should be expressed in the same

manner by both men and women. The largest group of respondents mentioned that anger should be expressed in a straight-forward, calm manner. Several respondents spoke of the need to tell the person directly how you feel, avoiding an attack on an individual's personality and the need to deal directly with the people. The need for privacy was also often mentioned.

Five respondents, all male, reported that women should and/or would respond differently in expressing anger in the work environment. One of the five respondents, a professional, felt that women should not cope differently but "were expected to." Three of the other respondents, one a director and two blue collar workers, felt that women should not use profanity. The director said that, "I personally find it difficult for a woman to use profanity...(it is) part of the culture...(it is) not as effective when a woman uses profanity as when a man does...she can't swear like a trooper and achieve the same effect as a man can." The last of the five respondents, a supervisor, commented on crying as a response to anger. He felt that a woman could cry, but he hated to see a man cry.

Handling an Angry Man in the Work Environment

The majority of respondents suggested the necessity for "talking it (the problem) over," and "finding the source of the problem and trying to solve it." One female supervisor suggested that one should be "well-prepared with facts for the position you are taking on the controversy."

Several respondents answered the question by suggesting, "ignore him," "walk away," "leave him alone," and "tell them to cool it." Four females including two women in traditional jobs and two males opted for this solution. One male professional said, "if they yell and scream, yell and scream back." A blue collar worker stated simply, "tell them your opinion."

The need to listen to the problem was mentioned by three females and one male. Two females suggested asking for assistance from a third party if the problem was unsolveable.

Handling a Crying Woman in the Work Environment

Some of the respondents felt the best way to handle a crying woman in the work environment was to "find out the reason," "talk," and work out a solution."

Three men and one woman suggested, "Give them a Kleenex." Five women professionals and supervisors, along with one male professional need to console the woman, to be interested in the problem and to act sympathetic. Three males mentioned that they had seen both men and women cry.

Seven women, representing all job classifications, spoke negatively about a crying woman. Two of the women stated that they would try to help the woman if she were a friend, but otherwise would try and ignore the crying woman. Two women said they would tell the woman to "get hold of herself." A professional said that, "women shouldn't cry on the job...(they will) say women are weak." A woman in a traditional job said "tears have no place in the office," and a manager said, "tell them not to do it again...(crying) feeds the stereotype of women."

Opportunities for Advanced Training

When asked if the respondents were afforded the same opportunities for advanced training as were their peers, the most often heard response was "yes." Many spoke of the educational assistance which was open to all. A blue collar worker felt that the same opportunities were given to all for educational assistance on the job, but felt there was not much opportunity for receiving more training which applied to his particular job. However, five female

respondents felt that the same opportunities were not being given to them as had been given to their peers. A professional woman commented that there had been a "lack of management development or training programs...males are given career paths from the second year on...women only recently (have been) given such opportunities." One woman in a traditional job felt that women "were limited in room for learning...until the last one and a half years."

Professional Acceptance from Peers

The majority of respondents felt that they had not had any problems in being accepted professionally by their peers. One female from this group felt that her acceptance was based on her long tenure with the company; for her, "longevity has established authority." A female supervisor felt that the road to being accepted professionally by one's peers was through proving yourself by accomplishing your job. But she also noted that "other women who have moved up from secretary have had problems," and mentioned the fact that the company was trying to promote people from within the organization.

Three of the four people who mentioned that they had had problems were women. A female in a traditional job noted that she had not experienced peer acceptance problems in other areas. Another female in a traditional job attributed her problems to personality clashes as did the single male in this category.

Problems Between Employees Attributed to the Sex of the Respondent

The majority of individuals felt that they had not had problems relating to other employees based on sex differences.

Of those who did feel that they had had problems relating to employees because of their sex, all were female. A supervisor felt that the problems were "not serious problems but (there) are some with women not being taken

seriously professionally...especially when (they are) young." A manager thought that the problems were minimum overall but she wished that older male managers "didn't treat me as a daughter." A professional had encountered some problems because of her sex and felt that a man was given a job which she wanted, based on sex. A woman in a traditional job cited an example of a problem arising because of her sex: "...(a) lady gave (me) trouble...(she) was a gossip...bitching all day...(she) would not have griped to a man." The final affirmative response came from a woman in a traditional job who felt that it was hard to relate to the language and talk of male bosses and that they treated secretaries like "girls at a bar."

Preference for the Sex of Supervisor

Most of the respondents said they did not have a preference in regard to the sex of their supervisor. Several qualified the response with statements such as "as long as they are fair." Several males would be willing to accept a female supervisor provided "they are competent," if they "earned the position," and if they "know the job." One female in a traditional job had recently changed her opinion of having a female supervisor because she now knew two women who were supervisors and felt they were "very fair and all business."

Of those having a preference regarding the sex of their supervisor, all preferred a man. This included five men, representing all categories except blue collar workers, and four women. Most of the men who preferred a man were non-commital in the reasons for their preference. One director did feel that he wanted to respect a supervisor and "women haven't had the opportunity to get experience and expertise." A female in a traditional job also echoed the lack of management training given to women. Another woman in a traditional job felt that "men are easier to please...women are sticklers." A female manager felt that her previous female boss was "...unsure of her abilities, dominating,

non-supportive..." A female supervisor felt that she would prefer a man because they "just make better supervisors," but she felt that she could, "cope with a woman." She concluded by saying that, "some places are fine for a woman...some are best handled by a man."

Chi-square analyses on various background factors versus the preference of the supervisor (Table IV) shows only one significant difference. People who prefer a male for a boss also are more likely than the non-preference group to report a conflict between marriage and work even though there are no significant differences in age, organizational position (either upper or lower in the organization), marital status, sex or education.

Benefits from Job Other than Pay

Most participants spoke of the feeling of "doing a good job" and of having "self-satisfaction and a sense of accomplishment" when asked what benefits other than pay they received from their job. Both men and women perceived being able to provide for a family as a benefit. A woman in a traditional job felt that it was a benefit for her "to be financially independent, if need be."

The challenge of the job and the opportunity for growth was most often mentioned by males, including three directors, two professionals and a manager. Only two women, a woman in a traditional job and a professional, mentioned this area as a benefit they received from their jobs.

Recognition was more commonly mentioned by women. A female supervisor felt that a "pat on the back" was a reward she received from her job. A female professional saw praise from her supervisor as a benefit and a female manager saw "professional recognition, status and power" as important benefits. One male manager commented on recognition as a perceived benefit.

TABLE IV

Preference for Sex of Supervisor and
Various Background Factors

	Prefer Males (n = 9)	No Preference (n = 25)	Significance
Age			
Older than 40	55.6%	48.0%	N.S.
Position in Organization			
Directors, Managers & Professionals	55.6%	48.0%	N.S.
Satisfaction with pay			
Satisfied	44.4%	76.0%	N.S.
Marital Conflicts			
Yes	57.1%	16.7%	$P < .10$
Marital Status			
Married	66.7%	72.0%	N.S.
Sex			
Male	55.6%	56.0%	N.S.
Education			
College Graduate	66.7%	60.0%	N.S.

N.S. = not significant / Chi-square tests (2 x 2 with 1 degree of freedom)

One female supervisor stated that there were "very few benefits other than pay" which she received from her job. When asked to elaborate she did mention "a little traveling and an expense account." Four females, three of whom were in traditional jobs, and three males including two blue collar workers, spoke of benefits such as insurance, pension programs and retirement plans. Three males and two female professionals saw "nice people," "an office," and "a pleasant environment" as being benefits. One female supervisor and one male blue collar worker added "personal freedom" and "little supervision" to the list of benefits.

Perception of Pay in Relation to Ability and Position

Most respondents replied "yes" when asked if they felt that their pay was commensurate with their ability and their position. This total includes 13 men and 10 women. All blue collar respondents fell into this category as did a representative of each job classification. A director stated, "I have internal access to lots of salaries. Salary is a secrecy in the company which is surprising for such an intellectural company. I know what the market is like... I feel I am paid very fairly...Many people react from a position of ignorance. Because of salary secrecy, they think they are underpaid when they are not...." Several people mentioned that they had fairly good knowledge of overall salaries in the company and they felt the salaries were very fair. One male blue collar worker felt that his pay was adequate but felt that other benefits needed to be improved, particularly insurance coverage. A female professional said that because of the recent increase in her pay, she felt satisfied, but had not been satisfied before. A woman in a traditional job had recently moved to a new position and now felt her pay was adequate also. A female supervisor felt she was, "paid adequately for her job...if not (I would get another job." One male manager felt there was the possibility that he was being overpaid.

Six individuals, three women and three men, gave a "no" response but with some qualifications. A male director felt that his pay was not commensurate with his ability and position at the current time but went on to mention that his compensation was in review and would be subject to near-term correction. A woman in a traditional job felt she was worth more but not quite yet; she felt she needed more experience and hoped to get a raise soon. A male manager did not feel his pay was quite "adequate" and said he felt "the Corporation was behind the times." A male professional felt his pay was almost adequate after making comparisons with want ads.

Satisfaction with pay versus background factors (Table V) using chi-squares analysis shows a nonsignificant tendency for those satisfied with their pay to have been at the organization longer than 66 months (the median for the 34 people interviewed) and a nonsignificant tendency to have higher expectations about their salary in ten years. There were no organizational level differences in pay compensation. However, there is one noticable finding. Those dissatisfied with their pay feel the office secretary is almost inadequately compensated. This is significant at the $P < .05$ level.

When asked about favoritism and pay, four individuals gave a firm "no" response. A male professional said that he had seen some favoritism on an individual manager basis; he felt males were being favored but it was an individual manager's decision and not a corporation policy. A male supervisor referred to this question as a "bucket of worms." He felt that females were generally underpaid and went on to explain that "a woman follows her husband, starts a family, (and then) interruptions inhibit them."

Favoritism toward men versus various background factors (Table VI) shows a non-significant tendency for women to feel there has been favoritism toward males. In addition, at the $p = .12$ significanct level, those who feel

TABLE V

Satisfaction with Pay
Versus Various Background Factors

	Satisfied (n = 23)	Not Satisfied (n - 11)	Significance
Service to the organization			
More than 66 months	60.9%	27.3%	N.S.
Number of Subordinates			
Has one or more	60.9%	45.5%	N.S.
Salary expectations in 10 years			
More than $35,000	47.1%	70.0%	N.S.
Age			
Older than 40	52.2%	45.5%	N.S.
Number of Mentors			
One or more	57.9% (n = 19)	55.6% (n = 9)	N.S.
Position in firm			
Upper - Director Manager, Professional	56.5%	36.4%	N.S.
Secretary paid adequately			
Yes	91.7% (n = 12)	33.3% (n = 9)	P < .05

N.S. = not significant / Chi-square test (2 x 2 with 1 degree of freedom)

TABLE VI

Favoritism toward Men
Versus Various Background Factors

	Males favored (n = 12)	Neither (n = 14)	Significance
Sex			
Women	66.7%	35.7%	N.S.
Education			
College Graduate	75.0%	64.3%	N.S.
Marital Status			
Married	83.3%	57.1%	N.S.
Satisfaction with pay			
Satisfied	58.3%	78.6%	N.S.
Satisfaction with evaluation Process			
Satisfied	44.4%	63.6%	N.S.
Goal within organization			
Advancement	81.8%	42.9%	P = .12

One subject eliminated. He was the only person indicating favoritism toward women. N.S. = not significant/Chi-Square tests (2 x 2 with 1 degree of freedom).

men are favored are themselves more interested in advancement in the organization as a goal than are those who feel neither sex is preferred. College education, marital status, satisfaction with pay and the evaluation process make no significant difference in the responses.

Favoritism in Advancement

In answer to the question "Has there been favoritism in advancement given to your fellow employees?" five females and three males said no. Two individuals felt that there had been favoritism in advancement shown to women. One male manager said, "Absolutely...down to a choice between males and females... all things being equal...the females will get the job...they are the superior breed. Women are a lot more competent than lots of men I know." A male director felt that there had been favoritism shown blacks and women but felt that in the final analysis, "seniority will prevail." Two women and two men felt that males had been shown favoritism in advancement. A male professional said that "besides male chauvinism...there is pressure, mostly from males working for them...other males rebel if a man is not promoted." A woman in a traditional job felt that men had been shown favoritism in the amount that they were encouraged to learn and consequently, they advanced more quickly. In addition, three women and one man felt that there had been favoritism shown in advancement which was attributed to sex but did not specify the direction of the favoritism.

Six males, half of whom were supervisors, and two females felt that there had been favoritism in advancement but attributed the cause to reasons other than sex. A male director said, "...people advance. By definition, there is favoritism...there can be a conscious decision...a person can be better qualified ...there is a tendency to pick a known quantity." Two men and one female

professional noted that they had seen evidence of the "buddy-buddy" system (how well the employee is liked by the supervisor) in advancement either at Tenneco, Inc. or other subsidiaries. A woman in a traditional job felt that it was the "ones with degrees who get promoted."

Six males and three females did not answer this question.

Travel Assignments

The respondents were asked if travel was required in their jobs and if they had been afforded travel opportunities. The men who traveled were generally directors and managers. One remarked that he had too many travel assignments over the years, necessitating long absences from home that were "tough on the family." Women in traditional jobs and men and women in the blue collar jobs do not travel.

Six respondents thought travel with members of the opposite sex did pose problems. One manager felt that traveling with a woman for a full week would be "too intimate." He also thought the problem lay with wives objecting to their husband's traveling with a female. Another man recongized a problem of men "overprotecting" women with whom they travel, but also indicated that he once "sided" with the woman to "get the men to clean up their language."

Social Elements and the Job

Respondents were asked to reply to various questions of a social context. One question simply asked, "Do you socialize with people you work with?" Only seven people answered with an unqualified "yes." Two of these were women. In general respondents reported "no" or "very limited" answers, including (of those that answered) all male directors and all but one male manager.

When asked where respondents ate lunch and with whom, more specific answers were obtained concerning how they handle a largely social situation.

Overall, respondents either ate alone or with friends or colleagues. Women, more frequently than men ate alone. Of the seven top ranking male respondents, directors and managers, all but two mentioned eating in the executive dining room or out at restaurants. Three of these also mentioned eating with guests and business associates at "business lunches." Of the five top ranking female respondents (four professionals and one manager) all but one generally ate in their offices alone. Three male managers mentioned eating with their secretary occasionally. One manager said he feels that he can "reward" clericals by eating with them. Another said that protocol for eating with secretaries was dictated by the organization and by geographic location. One female professional also reported eating with secretaries.

Social lunch preference versus various background factors (Table VII) using chi-squares analyses reiterates the significant fact that women tend to eat by themselves while men tend to eat lunch with others. None of the following showed any significant differences: age, individual goal within the organization, preference to boss, satisfaction with pay, education or marital status.

Social Outings

Respondents were asked if they were award of social events to which peers were invited and they were not. They were further asked if they attributed this situation to their sex or to other factors. Overwhelmingly, the group replied in the negative. Where positive answers occurred the respondents attributed the situation to being single, social status, or in one case, not knowing how to play cards. One woman clerical worker, noted that social activities for management and clerical staff were separate.

In addition, the respondents were asked if spouses should be included in certain organizational activities, and if so, to give examples. Twenty-three

TABLE VII

Social Lunch Preference Versus
Various Background Factors

	Eats alone (n = 14)	Eats with others (n = 17)	Significance
Sex			
Female	71.4%	17.6%	P < .01
Age			
Older than 40	42.9%	52.9%	N.S.
Goal within the organization			
Advancement	57.1%	56.3%	N.S.
Preference for boss			
Prefers men	28.6%	23.5%	N.S.
Satisfaction with pay			
Satisfied	71.4%	64.7%	N.S.
Education			
College Graduate	64.3%	64.7%	N.S.
Marital Status			
Married	64.3%	70.6%	N.S.

N.S. = Not significant / Chi-square tests (2 x 2 with 1 degree of freedom)

replied that spouses should be or were included in activities, with eleven of these specifically mentioning various social activities such as picnics, the company recreational association meetings, open houses, parties and dances. One male director felt that spouses should be an "active participant" in travel, association meetings and benefit program meetings. Another male director also mentioned participation in benefits meetings and further indicated that the company should solicit spouse input regarding relocation matters prior to transfer decisions. On the other hand, one male director indicated that some organizations go "overboard" and spouse participation should be optional. Overall, five respondents, all but one male, objected to inclusion of spouses in organizational activities.

One interesting note -- unmarried people were more likely to say spouses should be included in organizational activities while married people were more hesitant. All seven unmarried people who answered this question said "yes" while only 15 of the 23 married folk said "yes."

Chi-square analysis with marital status versus various background factors (Table VIII) shows unmarried people more likely to be female while married people are more likely to be male. No significant difference occurs between married and unmarried on the following factors: education, age or organizational level.

Marriage and Career Conflicts

A general question asked respondents to detail if any marriage versus career conflicts that existed. Conflicts listed by others included the presence of small children in the family (reported by two female professionals), time away from spouse and family (mentioned by three men, a director, a manager, and a supervisor), travel requirements of the job (listed by a male professional, a female professional and a male director), and transfers (noted by a male

TABLE VIII

Marital Status Versus
Various Background Factors

	Married (n = 24)	Unmarried (n - 10)	Significance
Sex			
Female	33.3%	70.0%	p = .11
Education			
College Graduate	70.8%	40.0%	N.S.
Age			
Older than 40	50.0%	50.0%	N.S.
Organizational Level			
Upper - Director, Manager or Professional	54.2%	40.0%	N.S.

N.S. = not significant / Chi-square tests (2 x 2 with 1 degree of freedom)

director). A female clerk also mentioned that her husband felt that the added income she provided was a reflection of his lack of ability to support the family. Two women also listed "housework" as a conflict, remarking that husbands need to share more household duties.

Those who report marital conflicts are significantly related to those who prefer men as bosses as previously mentioned. Benefits of mixing marriage and career were also listed. A female supervisor remarked that she helped to provide money for her children's education and for "luxuries" they otherwise could not afford. Another woman supervisor remarked that since both she and her husband had careers they both "know what each other was going through." Of interest, only women listed the benefits of work/marriage combinations.

Transfers

A specific example of a potential marriage/career conflict was posed to the respondents. They were asked how they and working spouses would deal with transfers, perhaps involving promotions. Answers to this question were generally of two common themes. The couple would primarily consider the husband's opinion and, if a transfer was in his career's best interests, they would go along with his transfer or promotion. Half the group male and female fell into this category.

The other theme was a process of mediation, compromise and then mutual agreement. Various factors were listed as important in decision-making regarding transfers and promotions. Some of these were the transferability of the respective spouses' careers (listed by a male director and a male manager), the quality of the respective spouses' potential transfer or promotion (mentioned by a female professional) and superior salary (mentioned by two women clerical workers). Specifically, the higher salary and job level of the husband were mentioned by two female supervisors as important considerations.

One male director was concerned that societal values would be distorted if "a man gives in to a wife." Further, two respondents noted the requirements necessary to go along with a woman's transfer. One male director required a "greater opportunity" for the wife. A female supervisor indicated a superior salary for the wife, over her husband, would be needed.

Transfer of spouse versus various background factors using chi-square tests (Table IX) shows that those proposing the husband and wife discuss and compromise more likely to be college educated and come from higher organizational levels. There is a non-significant tendency for those over 40 years of age to advocate that the wife should give up her job in preference to her husband's job. In addition, there is a very slight tendency for females to be more likely to say a woman should give up her job also. There is no significant difference by marital status.

Secretaries

To gain insights into the work world of the secretary, a series of questions was asked relating to the perceived roles of secretaries, the appropriateness of their compensation, the reward system employed and the chance for upward mobility.

Almost all respondents felt that the role of the secretary is a complex one in that the duties mentioned ran the gamut from "typing and filing" to "anything her boss wants during working hours." Interestingly, roles perceived by directors and managers were quite different from those mentioned by supervisors, professionals and traditional job holders. Directors and managers, only one of which was female, felt the role of the secretary should be one of administrative/professional assistant. There was emphasis on organizing and "freeing up" the boss' time, exhibiting initiative, and entering into the "objectives of the department." One male director even indicated

TABLE IX

Transfer of Spouse Versus
Various Background Factors

	Wife would give up (n = 17)	Discuss & Compromise (n = 17)	Significance
Sex			
Females	52.9%	35.3%	N.S.
Marital Status			
Married	50.0%	50.0%	N.S.
Age			
Older than 40	64.7%	35.3%	N.S.
Education			
College Graduate	41.2%	82.4%	P < .05
Organizational Level			
Upper - director, Manager or professional	29.4%	70.6%	P < .05

N.S. = Not Significant / Chi-square tests (2 x 2 with 1 degree of freedom)

he wanted a secretary who would boss him and "talk back." Conversely, those employees at the level of supervisor and below emphasized the clerical aspects of the job. The traditional stereotype of the secretary as a typist and "go-for" was the common response. Of particular significance was that none of the male respondents, regardless of organizational level, nor any of the female professionals or managers mentioned performing personal tasks for the boss. However, some women noted the requirement for secretaries to perform such tasks as "serving coffee" and "fixing things."

Twenty-two employees responded to a question regarding the appropriateness of the secretary's pay. Half of these felt the compensation was fair. Female respondents were evenly split on the issue while the males were almost three times more likely to indicate that the salary was fair. Both secretaries interviewed felt they were not adequately paid and one female professional who was once a secretary stated that secretaries are the "most overworked and underpaid of all employees." Females in the lower ranks of the organization appear to be the group most concerned about the inadequacy of the secretary's pay. Participants in this study were asked how a competent secretary should be rewarded. Most felt pay increases were the best or preferred reward. Others mentioned compliments as rewards or advancement as a reward. A fourth type of reward involved items of personal nature such as flowers, Christmas gifts, lunch with the boss, and freedom to "run errands." Women in traditional jobs were the ones who are most interested in gifts as a secondary reward mechanism.

In an attempt to gain some insight into the future of the secretary, participants were asked what they expected their secretaries to be doing in ten years. Seven of the twenty respondents expected their secretaries to remain in this category while ten anticipated that their secretaries would be at a higher level organizationally (seven of these ten forsaw a professional position as likely).

In summary, there seemed to be general agreement as to the importance of the role of the secretary in the organization. Job duties appear to be a function of the supervisor's perceptions and management style. However, those supervisors at higher levels organizationally tended to utilize the secretary's cognitive capabilities while those at lower levels emphasized skills and menial tasks.

Success and Goals

The first question asked, "What does being successful mean to you?" Both males and females mentioned ideas relating to self-satisfaction and inner peace most frequently. Job satisfaction and accomplishment followed closely behind for both sexes.

However, more males mentioned salary and subsequent purchase of material good than did females. Male managers and directors identified self-satisfaction, while male supervisors and professionals equally favored job accomplishment and salary. Male blue collar workers were twice as interested in salary than they were in job satisfaction.

And how did females respond? The one female manager felt success was derived through achievement on the job. Women supervisors and professionals were equally divided between self-satisfaction and accomplishment while ideas relating to satisfaction and inner peace were the overwhelming choice of females in traditional positions. The female blue collar worker defined success as working up through the career ladder, but also mentioned a desire to be a housewife.

Overall, a paradoxical pattern appeared. Males at the director and manager levels were sufficiently high in the organization to begin reflecting inwardly regarding success rather than on those matters of material nature.

But joining them in resounding agreement was an unlikely group--the females in traditional roles. Conversely, the female manager was still interested in her job and satisfaction to be derived from achievement therein. While male blue collar workers defined success in terms of salary and family, the female mentioned job and family. Of particular interest is that the females at the opposite ends of the organizational hierarchy bypassed family when defining success.

Using chi-square tests for success orientation versus other various factors, Table X indicates the most significant relationship is between advancement and self-satisfaction. Those that desire self-satisfaction also mention a career orientation toward advancement. This point is also brought up in the discussion on career goals.

When asked what their goals were, most respondents in the director, manager, supervisor and professional ranks cited promotion. However, the women in the study were much more interested in climbing the corporate ladder--sixty percent of them had a goal of promotion while only thirty-seven percent of the males cited this goal.

Salary Aspirations

The salary expectations of males were substantially greater than those of females. When asked to predict their salary level in ten years, men desire a mean of $61,500 with a standard deviation of $27,000 while women expect a mean of $30,900 with a standard deviation of $12,600. A t-test shows this finding is significant at the $p < .001$ level. Forty-two percent of all male participants estimated at least a $60,000/year compensation figure while only seven percent of the females (the one female manager) forsaw this possibility.

TABLE X

Success-orientation versus
Various Background Factors

	Self-Satisfaction (n - 12)	Other (n = 11)	Significance
Sex			
Female	47%	36.4%	N.S.
Marital Status			
Married	83.3%	72.7%	N.S.
Education			
College Graduate	75.0%	45.5%	N.S.
Satisfaction with pay			
Satisfied	66.7%	81.8%	N.S.
Individual Goal in Organization			
Advancement	83.3%	30.0%	P < .05

N.S. = not significant / Chi-square tests (2 x 2 with 1 degree of freedom)

Beginning over again at age 17

The participants were also asked what they might change if they could begin again at age seventeen. This age was chosen to allow respondents to visualize their situation as seniors in high school, hopefully prior to the formulation of definite career aspirations or patterns. The only persons who said they would make no change in their careers were male managers and directors (63 percent) and male professionals (25 percent). Not one female responded in this manner.

The two most common changes respondents would make related to a college education. The first group of answers cited a desire to obtain a college degree. A second common change was to major in a different field of study. Other infrequent answers included gaining more varied experience, obtaining more knowledge, being more aggressive and deferring the decision to marry.

One might surmise from the answers to this question that those in the top positions are relatively satisfied with their education and career choices in that they have achieved "success," at least within the organization. The majority of those individuals without college degrees saw the diploma as a key to obtaining positions with greater status, responsibility and, of course, remuneration.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Overall, the important findings of this study are the following:

1. There is a recent and concerted effort on the part of top management to employ more females in supervisory/professional positions, but such is lacking at the top levels of management.

2. Women have been placed into newly created positions many times with little preparatory previous experience leading to such promotions -- hence, they have token status.

3. Some women in token positions have little power or authority and frequently are expected to do their own secretarial work unlike their male counterparts.

4. Males are represented in clerical capacities in much fewer numbers than are females, but males are seen more readily than females in non-clerical roles.

5. Most individuals felt men and women handled pressure situations equally well. Of those disagreeing, most felt men handled pressure better.

6. In the expression of anger, more respondents felt men and women should react in the same manner. A notable exception being that women should not use profanity.

7. The need to locate the source of the problem and talk about the problem was seen as the appropriate way to deal with an angry man or a crying woman. Several women felt it was inappropriate for a woman to cry on the job.

8. Of those feeling that advanced training opportunities were not equally available, all were women.

9. Of those who felt that they had had problems relating to employees because of their sex, all were female.

10. Over one-fourth of the respondents preferred having a male for a supervisor. Several respondents categorized women supervisors as being bossy and hard to please.

11. Self-satisfaction and a sense of accomplishment were seen as important benefits gained from the job by both men and women.

12. Two thirds of the respondents felt that their pay was adequate in relation to their ability and their position.

13. Half of the female respondents felt that there had been favoritism shown to males in the amount of compensation received.

14. Over half of the respondents answering the question felt that there had been favoritism shown in advancement to one sex over another. Most thought men had been shown favoritism.

15. Men are required to travel more frequently than are females.

16. Traveling with members of the opposite sex is still perceived to be a potential source of problems, although few persons had actually travelled with the opposite sex on a business trip.

17. Women, especially high ranking ones in the organization, more frequently than the men eat alone in their offices.

18. All respondents see the role of secretary in complex terms, but upper level management sees the secretary as more administrative while lower levels see the role with more clerical components.

19. Inadequacy of secretarial pay appears more evident at lower organizational levels. Women noted these inadequacies more frequently than men.

20. There is general agreement that secretaries are valuable assets to the organization.

21. Upper level management and women in traditional jobs are similar in their definition of success as basically self-fulfillment and satisfaction. Others in the organization are much more interested in climbing the corporate ladder.

22. Salary expectations are higher for males than females.

23. The only persons not changing anything in their life since age 17 are male members of the managerial or professionals group. All others would make some changes. The primary change is educational. The respondent would either 1) obtain a college degree or 2) study a different field while in college.